

1+ Leicester, Massachusetts, Sunday
July 16. 1848.

Annals Meeting

Dear Mr. Estlin,

I am passing a few days with my family in this my old home - a quiet place, while the struggle of the Antislavery warfare is going on elsewhere. I have been wishing to write you by 2 or 3 of the last Steamers, but absolutely, with me, time for writing letters there has been none; and I account it a privation & a loss when I cannot do my part - such as it is - in keeping the correspondence between us regular and prompt.

I feel that I ought to have earlier written you with regard to the little matters of business with which you have entrusted me, and which I feel it a pleasure to do for you. F. Douglass paid me the 28/ (i.e. \$6.75) at N. York, (at Ann. Meeting. Amⁿ. A. S. Socy, 2^d week in May) - of which I paid \$1.75 to "Standard", & \$5. to "Liberator" as you directed. I presume Mr. Wallcut has sent you receipts for the latter. If not, please name it to me, and I will get him to do so. I am not sure whether his custom is to send receipts to transatlantic subscribers; but I see not why he shouldn't, as much so as to those here, about which he is very exact. - I have also paid five dollars in your name, according to your request, to Mr. J. P. Blanchard, who acts as Treasurer in the matter of the Defence of Sayres, Drayton & English. The trial of these suffering men is to come on, it is said, the 28th of this month; it is also said that over 300 bills of indictment against them have been drawn up. They will have able defence, but their chance for release is about

the smallest I can conceive of - that is, in the case of the two former. English is said to be rather a dull man, with ~~no~~ heart or interest in this business (this may be assumed for politic reasons), & to have acted only in the way of obedience to his employers. I fear that Drayton & Sayres will be fined in an enormous sum, & doomed to a long imprisonment besides. But it is working well. The nation is now, after 18 years' of agitation, of rebuke, of outcry, fairly roused to this question of Slavery. They approach it with the greatest moderation & caution, to be sure - they propose measures which it would be estimating too lightly to call half-way, - but I believe there is a sincere & fixed purpose to persevere; I know this is so with many of the men who have newly come into this contest - and I do not doubt that all these ^{things} will work together for the downfall of Slavery.

You think that Mr. Garrison is too hard upon John P. Hale, - is not enough disposed to welcome the aid which he & others can bring to the Anti-Slavery Cause. I think there is no ground for any apprehension of this sort. I am perfectly sure that Garrison, Phillips, and our strong men generally, are not wanting in desire to see others coming up to the Anti-Slavery work, nor in readiness to welcome any aid, however humble, so it be sincerely & generously offered. And I think you will have observed that Mr. G. has not been slow to acknowledge Mr. Hale's past services. All that he has said, by way of censure or sarcasm, has ~~all~~ been aimed at him as a representative

and exponent of Anti-Slavery. This, be it noticed,
is a position ~~in~~ which Mr. Hale has never himself
taken. He has never avowed himself an Abolitionist,
nor taken ^{position upon} any of the great Antislavery principles. Up
to his own professions he has acted truly & nobly; but
these professions have never been such as could
satisfy true Abolitionists. That wretched sham of
a party, known as the "Liberty Party", avowedly made
Mr. Hale their candidate, because he had a fame
before the Nation, & was the most "available"
candidate they could get; - [the very principle
on which the Whig party, false to all its own
declarations, acted, in nominating Zachary Taylor, - a
coarse, illiterate Slaveholder, - as we have every
reason to think him.] Mr. Hale accepted 'Liberty
party's' nomination, at the same time telling them
he did not belong to their party, should not join
them, & should continue on his own ground, an
"Independent Democrat". That was honest in him, and
in that position, & under that banner, he has contended
well against John C. Calhoun & his allies. For that,
Mr. G. is, I ^{am sure} ~~thinks~~, disposed to render him all honor -
- I have not looked back over the files of the Lib^r. to see,
but my impression is that he has done so. I am
sure that Wendell Phillips has again & again in his
speeches (but of these you cannot be informed) made
the distinction between Hale the Senator, and
Hale the Nominee of 'Liberty Party'. It is only when
he is paraded as the leader of the professed Antislavery
political party of the country, that his position and

sentiments are criticised & condemned; and in
that light some of his opinions & declarations are
certainly ludicrous enough. He is not ready to say
men ~~have not~~ may not have property in man -
he is not ready to purify the District of Columbia
itself from this stain. This, I understand, to be his
position on those points. He has been very cautious,
certainly, about expressing his sentiments. - Mr.
Wm. J. Bowditch (youngest son of late Dr. B., a
lawyer in Boston & a noble fellow) was affected
much as I judge you to be by Mr. Garrison's strictures
on John P. Hale. He felt quite sure that G. did
not correctly represent him on one point, viz. his
readiness to use all honorable moral means
against Slavery throughout the land. I have just
been looking over my file of Lib., & find Mr. G.'s
remarks in paper of Feb. 25., and a letter of Mr. B.'s
in the paper following. So confident was Mr. Bowditch
that Mr. G. was wrong, that he wrote to Mr. Hale
with a view of getting the mistake rectified. Mr.
Hale's reply I ^{have} never seen - it never saw the light;
but I know, for Mr. Bowditch himself told me so,
that he [Mr. B.] was exceedingly disappointed & chagrined
at it. Mr. Hale, in common with the Non-Confession
Whigs & Democrats, goes against the extension of Slavery -
but is entirely ready to be silent & inactive with
regard to its existence in the Union as at present
constituted, Texas included; they denounce (& properly)
a prospective Slavery, but let alone ^(most improperly) the living Monster,
now gloating over its 3,000,000 victims. - I think if

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You will again cast your eye over what Mr. G.
has written, you will see that he does not entirely
overlook Mr. Hale's services in opposition to ~~the~~
the Slave Power, and ^{that} what he writes is chiefly against
the absurd claims set up by his Lib. party friends. The
Lib. party passed by many of its tried friends, & some very
honest Abolitionists, when it nominated John P. Hale,
for effect, & for availability's sake. So thought many
of that party, & seceded & nominated Gerrit Smith.
You quote F. Douglass's opinion remark that he
"differed somewhat from the Old Organ? Society in his estimate
of those engaged in the Liberty Party", &c. &c. I cannot of
course answer for F. D.'s; he certainly did, not long
since, agree very fully in such views as I have expressed
above. It has always been admitted ^{on our part} that the great mass
of the "Liberty party" men were honest. Their leaders, Birney,
Leavitt, Alvan Stewart, Stanton, & the like have been denounced
and exposed, as traitorous & false - as I believe they are.

But, if you will recur to the ~~the~~ leading article in the
"North Star" of June 23^d, you will gather F. D.'s opinion of
Liberty Party. He clearly feels much respect for the body
of men ~~etc~~ meeting at Buffalo the week previous, and
claiming to be the ^{real} "Simon Pure", "Liberty party". That
Convention denounced the nomination of John P. Hale, and
declared the Convention which made that nomination
"a spurious Convention, holding no principles in common
with the Liberty Party". Mr. Garrison certainly has said
nothing harder than this. - Again, what said that Convention
(the one attended by F. Douglass) of the "National Era"? - a paper
which you think must be doing some good to the A. S. cause.
It declared the Editor of that paper "an apostate and traitor

to all the great principles of the Liberty Party." Gerrit Smith & Beniah Green were the leading men in this Convention, probably the originators of it. Their Antislavery zeal & their honesty have never been called in question by Mr. Garrison or any of his friends, to my knowledge. Abstract them from the Liberty Party, and it has indeed lost ~~all~~ its main props. - From the remainder of F. Douglass' article, you will gather his views, touching the position of Liberty party. For several years past, nearly all the Abolitionists in the Middle & Western States have acted with the 'Liberty Party', and our friends have always made a distinction between them, & those bigots who essayed to break down the American Antislavery Society in 1840, ^{ostensibly} because it would not put a padlock upon the tongues of women, and exclude them from all participation in its counsels. - Now the 'Liberty Party' is evidently on the eve of dissolution. Two large sections of the old body are pitted against each other, each claiming to be the genuine "Lib. Party", one having J. P. Hale, the other G. Smith as their Presidential Candidate; a third body exists, known as the Liberty League, at the head of which (I believe) is Wm. Goodell - their Candidate ^{also} is Gerrit Smith.

But all these nominations seem to me profoundly silly. And yet I am not unwilling to hope & believe that it may redound to the advancement of the Cause of true Antislavery. With much more hope and expectation do I look to the action of a Convention soon to be held in Buffalo, N. Y. (early in August), called by those who, under the names of "Conscience Whigs", "Barnburners", &c. (with some "Liberty" men) have seceded from the old

Whig and Democratic parties, on account of their very vile & shameful prostration of themselves at the very footstool of Slavery. Among the Democrats, Martin

Van Buren is the principal man among the recusants. He will not support the nomination of Gen. Cass. His son John Van Buren ^{also} is one of the keenest opponents of that nomination. They will doubtless carry large numbers with them in N. York, Ohio, & other Western States, and not a few in N. England. These men have already nominated Martin Van Buren (who has ^{once} already been

President of U. S., but was set aside, for a 2^d. time, to make way for James K. Polk,) as their Candidate for the Presidency. - Mr. V. B., by the way, was set aside because he would not go for Annexation of Texas - Polk was the ready tool of the Slaveholders, & so was preferred. - The design of the Buffalo Convention is to unite, if possible, all these ~~conflicting~~ opponents of Slavery, - agree upon some one Candidate, & make a resolute stand against the farther encroachments of the Slave Power. Whether the Whigs in that Convention can be prevailed upon to support Mr. Van Buren for Pres^t. - or, vice versa, whether the Democrats would consent to take John McLean of Ohio - remains to be seen. I fear neither will yield; - and I am not sure that it is not their best way each to fight under his own banner, & make the greatest demonstration against Slavery they possibly can. I am quite sanguine in my faith that enough will bolt from the "Regular nominations" - Cass (Democrat) & Taylor (Whig) - to defeat any election by the people; in itself that would be worth a great deal, as showing the Slaveholders conclusively that the sceptre was

very likely to depart from them. The election would then go to the House of Representatives, where the Free States (so called, by courtesy - but abominably, I think some of them have been) have a large majority; and whoever there gave a vote in opposition to the feeling among his own constituents would stand in a most unenviable position; his political damnation would be sure. — You may wish (possibly) to know something more of the "Conscience Whigs" & "Barnburners", and yet as the Liberator has been pretty well stocked with accounts of their Conventions, Speeches, &c., I will not inflict much talk about them upon you. The former are men who refuse to support the nominations of the party to which they have hitherto belonged - the Whigs - and have accordingly had the name 'conscience' applied to them by the old adhering members, in derision!! by which it is plain to see they consider a 'conscience' a piece of inexcusable folly in a politician, and give it to be understood that they would despise themselves, if disposed to yield to any such squeamishness. The "Barnburners" hold the same relative position to the Democratic party, that the "C. Whigs" do ^{to} the Whig Party. They rec'd. their name from an anecdote told by ~~one of the~~ ^a Speaker among their opponents who likened them, in seceding from the old party, to the foolish old farmer who, to get rid of the rats which infested his grain, burnt his barn! They accepted the title, saying they meant at any rate to clear out the rats. Their defection is a serious one, - and a very joyful one, too. — I cannot help being deeply interested in these movements against Slavery, tho' the issue they make is so very far from being the true one - that of undoubted, thorough principle.

I might much enlarge upon their recent Conventions - especially that at Worcester lately in this State - but refer you to Liberator, for all that is needful upon it.

As you will doubtless perceive, I am writing quite rapidly, & jumble matters together, perhaps to your discomfort. But I am compelled to write thus, or not at all. With all my Agency matters, I am obliged to look after my out o' door affairs here in Leicester, a little. I have about 9 acres of land, upon ^{3 1/2 of} which have grown this year about 9 tons of hay, ^(or rather grass) (the rest is pasture-land & garden) - a part of the ^{grass} ~~hay~~ I dispose of, standing, and about a third of it I secure for myself, which is sufficient for our only live stock - a cow! Nearly all yesterday (in order to expedite business) I worked among the haymakers, and expect to do the same tomorrow, if the weather prove fair for haymaking. Of course I have had no time for writing since I came up here, and shall have none tomorrow. On Tuesd. morn'g. early, I must return to my post. Visitors have interrupted me since I began this; and, all together, if I am a ~~little~~ somewhat irregular & disjointed in matter & manner, I shall trust you to excuse me. — I expect to send this by Mrs. Maria W. Chapman - (one also for Miss Carpenter I hope to get time for) - Mrs. C. has been ^{for several months} ~~on the water~~ expecting to leave us, as perhaps you know, for a 2 or 3 years residence in Europe, - taking her 3 children with her, for their education - and will probably embark this week in the Ship "Joshua Bates" at New York. I hope she may meet with our Bristol co-workers. It is uncertain, I believe, how long she will remain in Engl. It will probably depend very much upon the Condition of things in Paris, where it has been her plan to take up her residence.

You will notice that Mr. Garrison is about submitting himself to the Cold Water treatment, in the hope of removing Erysipelas which has afflicted him for some years. What our

leading Boston physicians think of the ~~the~~ "Water Cure" you may gather from a slip cut from a newspaper herewith sent. Possibly the names of Warren & Hayward & Bigelow are known to you, professionally. That of John Ware certainly is.

The Annual Meeting of the Amⁿ. A. S. Society at New York, and the Yearly New-England Antislavery Convention in Boston (the former early in May - the latter, at the close) were both excellent meetings & most cheering to the friends of the cause. Many thought it was the best N.E. Convention ever held. It was thronged from first to last - a ready response was given to the strongest Anti-Slavery doctrine, as well as to the appeals for pecuniary aid - and the project of agitating N. Eng. in general & Massachusetts in particular by the holding of 100 Conventions during the summer and autumn was most cordially received. These Conventions have been commenced, and about 15 have been held ~~under~~ ^{with} highly encouraging results. In numerous instances staunch & steady men have broken their party-ties, and resolved to be hoodwinked, & dragged at the wheels of Slavery's Car no longer, - and have not only talked (we have learned to make small account of that, by itself) but acted, to the dismay of their old leaders. - Quite an encouraging ^{& noticeable} fact in the progress of the A. S. Cause is the following: At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers (last May), the Rev. Dr. Lowell of Boston, now nearly 70 years of age, introduced a resolution to have a Comtee appointed to prepare a historical sketch of the origin of American Slavery, and to report what action ought to be ~~now~~ taken for its abolition - or, to that effect. Some few endeavored to give it the go by - but they were not sustained. The resolution was nearly unanimously

adopted, Dr. Lowell was made Chairman of a Committee of nine ministers, who will report next May. I need not tell you, I think, who Dr. Lowell is - the associate and friend of Channing, pastor of the West Boston Church for 40 years or more - Unitarian in sentiment, though refusing to take any denominational name - universally respected, and of great success as a Christian pastor - fervent, earnest, and direct as a preacher, tho' not eminent as such. He has been somewhat out of health for several years, and is quite deaf. I am told that his speech in the Convention was very impressive, and that he "demanded" of his brethren some action on this great question. The "Convention, &c" is (for our New World) quite an ancient institution, being originally composed of all the Cong. Ministers of Massachusetts - now of course embracing the antagonist sections of Trinitarian and Unitarian. It has been an object with the former, for 20 years past & more, to eject the Unit^{ns}. As they could not do this, they have sought to exclude them from any share in the Annual Convention Sermon. This they commonly do, but occasionally an Unitarian has been chosen - such as Henry Ware Jr, Dr. Gannett, & others. What holds the discordant material together is the possession of a considerable fund, the income of which is annually divided among the widows & children of deceased Cong. Ministers, if left in straitened circumstances. This Convention, made up of the pious & partly, the men of undoubted orthodoxy, the pretended lights and guides of the Commonwealth are just preparing to say something upon Slavery, after 'infidels', 'disorganizers', and men of no repute have been laboring for 18 years to arouse attention. They may yet prove themselves honest - eleventh-hour laborers, but their credit for sagacity & for trustiness as moral leaders

must suffer, I think.

My family, and especially my wife, have been in very deep affliction the past two weeks, owing to the very sudden and melancholy death of her father - in his 69th year. His name was Nathaniel P. Russell, a well-known citizen of Boston, greatly esteemed for his integrity, liberality, and personal attention to the poor and suffering. He had been suffering from erysipelas for several months, which at length seemed to go to his head. A week before he died he went to Nahant, (10 miles N. of Boston on the sea-shore, where for many years he had been accustomed to ~~pass~~ pass a part of the summer) here his strength seemed to fail him, and a deep dejection took hold on his mind. My wife and myself knew that he was unwell, but knew not how much more unwell he ^{became} ~~was~~. Early in the morning of Feb 3^d he left his house, without (as we are informed) the knowledge of any one, and either fell or threw himself into the sea, where his body after some time of anxious search was at length found. We cannot think it was a premeditated act, though many circumstances indicate that he felt he should not live long. He was always characterized ^{by} a great consideration of the feelings of others - was as unselfish a man as I ever met with - and I am confident he would not deliberately have inflicted so dreadful a pain upon those who loved him so truly, and whom he loved with equal warmth. I think it was under a derangement proceeding from his disease, (which had not suffered him for some time to sleep well) and also from a fear, which had certainly been weighing for a long time upon him, that his affairs were becoming embarrassed, that in a moment of intense agony he rushed into the sea. It has been a terrible blow to my wife. There was a very strong attachment between her father and herself - she has never felt that she had got beyond a father's counsel & care, or a daughter's duty. }
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This death will probably, adding something, in course of a year, to
 my means of supporting my family - but how gladly should
 we have foregone this, & much more, to have averted this
 blow, to have kept him longer with us. My present
 income - excuse me for mentioning it - is small. I am
 unwilling to be a heavier burden upon the Anti-Slavery cause,
 than the \$800. they ~~annually~~ paid me last year. On renewing my
 appointment, last month, they asked me if I had ought to say
 on the subject of salary; to which I said, nothing, save that I knew
 \$800 was a large sum for them to pay; and that it would doubtless
 command the services of an effective Agent, and though I could
 not well do with less, I could not think of asking any more. (This
 will be quite between you & me?) If I could live wholly in
 the country, & had no need to travel to & fro to Leicester every
 2 or 3 weeks, the sum paid would give us a very comfortable
 support, with the help my father has hitherto been able to give us.
 It was his generosity which enabled me to visit Europe in 1843.
 You see, dear Sir, that I write to you quite as to an old friend.
 I do not fear that you will receive it awry. - I wish, as
 I have often said before, that you could visit America, and
 see us as we are. I should rejoice to welcome you to my
 home. My father built a very excellent house for me
 in 1835 (soon after I was settled in Leicester), and when he was
 in better pecuniary circumstances than at present. How long
 we shall remain in it, even if life is spared us, is very uncertain.
 It is too far from my business, if I continue with the A.S. Socy.,
 or take up any other occupation in or near Boston.

Tuesday 2 o'clock, P.M. July '78.

I returned to the City this morning, and within an hour learn that Mrs. Chapman leaves for New York this afternoon. I must immediately make up my little parcel; and, what a mercy to you!, cut short my story.

I send you a few pamphlets hastily collected. "Massachusetts The Proceedings of the Anti-Sabbath Convention" - Parker's Sermon on Sunday - Weiss's Fast day discourse - one of S. J. May's, which I rather think I have before sent, but am not sure.

In answer to your inquiries about the portrait of Dr. Channing in your possession - It was painted by Flagg (himself a connexion of Dr. Channing) - he is not now living. This picture was considered by Wm. H. C. as good a portrait of his Uncle as any extant - it looked as he did during the last years of his life. Other friends & connexions of Dr. C. agree in this opinion. - Garibaldiella - (exile) - was an Italian artist, who visited this country some 15 or 20 years ago - not so long perhaps. He is now in London. This portrait, from which the engraving is taken, is in possession of Jonathan Phillips of this City. - The above information I derive chiefly from Mrs. Chapman herself. I hope you will see her, when she will corroborate the above, & tell you more perhaps,

A gross ^{foreign} postage tax is now inflicted upon us. No letter can be sent from, or received in, this country, to or from G^t. Britain without a tax of 24 cēts (- 1/4 sterling), in addition to what must also be paid in your country! This is by way of retaliation upon your government for assessing a like tax upon letters transported by the American steamers. It was a very unjust act on the part of the Br. Post Office (or Govt.) to begin with, and a very foolish one on the part of our Govt. to retaliate. Between the two, the people are annoyed and fleeced. If we would pre-pay a letter (of 1/2 an ounce) to a British friend, we must pay 58 cts. through Vander's office, or 29 pence. — I think this can't last long.

It seems that the Howitts have been obliged to go into Chancery. I feel very sorry for this, for I have become much interested in their journals. Do you consider (as some here do) that the estab.^t of their journal; under the circumstances, was an infraction of their agreement with Saunders?

I am very glad you have got the Memories of Dr. Channing at last. I shall be anxious to know your opinion of the work. Mr. Armstrong is also, who was very earnest to see it.

I hope you will not forget to send me the portrait, already spoken of.

All this while I have not directly acknowledged the ~~reception~~^{receipt} of your letter of May 26 to June 9., which came duly to hand. — I thank you for your kind intention to send me a copy of the translation of F. D.'s *Mémoire*, which I shall be much pleased to possess. — Events in France are realising your anticipations. The late bloody struggle is most discouraging as well as dreadful. Still, we hope on for France, almost against hope. For anything more than a nominal Republic they do not yet seem to be ready.

I ~~am~~ am inclined to believe your criticism on the article in the "*Universalist*" one in which I should accord — for I did not read the article, or certainly not with any care. — I do not disagree with your view of H. C. Wright's general style & manner of writing — be the subject what it may.

I am sorry you were not more pleased with "*Evangeline*". I admit much that you say about it. The cumbersome Hexameter is ill-suited to our language. Many of the expressions are so commonplace as to give a ludicrous air to certain passages, especially when ~~found~~ taken in connexion with the ~~laborious~~ elaborate measure. But, notwithstanding all, I was deeply affected by the Poem, or Story, or whatever else it be. You know the destruction & depopulation of French Acadia, & the scattering of the people over the British Colonies (the present U.S.) is an historical fact.

What you say of the Liberator's poetry is certainly true. I suspect Mr. G. gives ^{very} little attention to

This department. When ~~the~~ Mr. G. was absent
(+ sick) last summer, ~~as~~ I was in the habit
of selecting ^{the} poetical, as well as other, matters
for the paper. This matter of poetical taste is an
exceedingly arbitrary thing, but I persuaded
myself that the poetry for those 5 months, taken
together, was better than usual! I don't know
as any one else thought so. Wendell Phillips
lately procured the insertion of Macaulay's
"Battle of Naseby". Are you familiar with the
piece? I was not before.

Thank you for the paper relative to the
appeal in F. Douglass's case. We thought
your view of the matter sound and just. Miss
G., in her devotion to an individual, without
farther investigating the cause or subject which
he aims to promote, is like some unwise
women and men, who grow also on this side
the Atlantic.

Here I must break off - as I shall
apuredly be too late. I cannot find time
for even a line to Miss Carpenter. Please
offer my sincere respects, ~~and say to her that I am~~
~~will be requested to exact a letter~~
~~on the other side the water~~ also, that I have directed
the changes ^{to be made in the} ~~she wished~~ forwarding the "North Star"
which she wished, viz. to Warrington. -
With sincere respect, I remain, Yours most
truly Saml. May Jr.



